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ABSTRACT

There is a growing tendency to accept that schools can teach the concept of code switching in language awareness programs, and this has been done in Denmark, to an extent, for a decade or so. This research studied code switching as an interpersonal power tool in two minority children who participated in a longitudinal study of the bilingual development of Turkish children in Denmark. Conversations between three or four children, alone in a classroom and engaged in a school-like task, were recorded. Contributions of each child were isolated and transcribed. Through four stages, data show that: (1) code switching used as a power tool appears as word play; (2) in real power struggles the leader divides and conquers and weaker children adopt switching to the "we" code; (3) a wide range of strategies is employed by more advanced children; and (4) the relationship between the "we" code and "they" code becomes complicated. It appears that even successively bilingual children acquire code switching skills for purposes of social control, and do so at a younger age than expected. (Contains 13 references.) (Author/JP)

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ED 363 125

Children's Code Switching in Group Conversations

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Introduction

Since Labov's "The Logic of Non-Standard English" appeared (1970) there has been an increasing awareness in educational circles that languages are not inherently good or bad, that they are all capable of fulfilling the communicative needs of their speakers. Similarly, what we see going on these years is a realization that code switching is not good or bad, but rather it is a supplementary set of means to meet the communicative needs, in the broadest sense, of bilingual speakers. Of course it still remains to be seen that schools can actually teach code switching, but there is a growing tendency to accept that schools can teach *about* code switching, as part of language awareness programs. Such programs have, however, been criticized for not being critical. Often they paint glossy pictures of the multitude of languages present especially in Western industrialized societies. They fail to point out the status differences between languages, and how some languages are used to suppress the speakers of others, it is claimed. Language awareness programs should also teach about linguistic manipulation. This has to a certain rudimentary extent been done in Denmark for a decade or so. Now at least one scholar claims that schools also ought to teach children how to exercise linguistic power:

> "Being able to read and write is a far cry from being able to get one's way. In the school one learns depressingly little about how to go about pressing one's will through. The attitude of the school is that as long as one can express one's opinion, that is enough [...].
> It is regrettable that this twisted view of reality is prevalent in the teaching of linguistic expression."
> (Kjøller 1991,20).

Interestingly enough kids acquire linguistic manipulation skills anyway - some better than others - just as they learn to cuss and swear which the school does not teach either. In this paper we shall look at the development of code switching as an interpersonal power tool among minority children. We will concentrate on two children, one who seems to succeed in acquiring manipulation skills, and another one who seems to lag somewhat behind. The children participate in a longitudinal study of the bilingual development of Turkish children in Denmark. These preliminary findings are only a small aspect of that project (Jørgensen &al. 1991).

Conversational Code Switching

Gumperz defines conversational code switching as "the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems" (1982,59), and distinguishes it from the so-called "situational code switching". Situational code switching is related to differences in classes of activities bound to certain settings in "a simple, almost one to one, relationship between language use and social context" (ib.61), whereas conversational code switching usually is "metaphorical" by communicating information about how the speakers "intend their words to be understood" (ib.61). Myers-Scotton emphasizes

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the dynamics between "a normative framework" and "individual, interactive choices" (1988,179). Code switches in her sense are linguistic choices as "negotiations of personal rights and obligations relative to those of other participants in a talk exchange" (1988,178). She distinguishes between unmarked and marked language choice. The unmarked choice depends on a "rights and obligations set associated with a particular conventionalized exchange" (ib.160), i.e. on situational factors similar to Gumperz' more than on immediate personal motivation, whereas the marked choice signals that "the speaker is trying to negotiate a different rights and obligations balance" (ib.167).

Both approaches distinguish between two kinds of switching, one in which the immediate, personally motivated communicative intent is the most salient determiner of the switch, and one in which an existing set of conventions is the more salient determiner. One can argue whether this is a distinction in degree or quality (Auer 1984), and one can discuss just how normative the normative framework is, at least among bilinguals themselves. Basically, however, there seems to be some agreement that on the one hand we have a kind of code switching which is basically determined by apparently relatively long-term factors outside of the speaker (the globally determined switches), and on the other hand we have a kind of code switching which is basically determined by apparently relatively short-term factors within the speaker (the locally determined switches).

Especially for migrated linguistic minorities in Europe, the difference in status between languages is a factor one must always consider. What Gumperz labels the "we" code is, in the case of minorities, usually related to low prestige. It is often restricted to the private spheres, and at the same time a sign of belonging to the minority. A switch to the minority language may thus depend on a change in situational factors, i.e. a conversational item may remain "unmarked" in spite of the switch. On the other hand a switch to the minority language may be a tool to express solidarity, or to rebel, or to exclude a particular conversant etc, and exactly because of the relatively low status of the language switched into, the conversational item may be "marked". The same code switch may therefore simultaneously have locally determined aspects and globally determined aspects. In this context we will concentrate on the locally determined aspects, i.e. how the children use code switches to obtain and maintain control over a situation, viz. group conversation.

Linguistic Power Wielding

In conversation a principle of co-operation or co-ordination is crucial (Gumperz 1982,1). The study of conversational tools is often concerned with "politeness phenomena", how one reaches one's goals without causing others to lose face (Brown and Levinson 1978 and many others). Penman (1990,37) even states that facework is "central to the nature of our relationships with people". She presents a classification of facework strategies assuming that "the major goal of all facework is the generation of respect for self and the avoidance of contempt" (ib.21). But cooperation is not everything, after all, conflicting interests are present in more than a few conversations. From a somewhat different angle Kjøller finds that "aggressions are good. Without them you'll get nowhere" (1991,15). Finding it regrettable that the school emphasizes teaching children to express what they want, not how to manipulate others by means of language, he proceeds to establish a classification of manipulation strategies, related to four basic virtues (see fig.1).

These four virtues are not goals to achieve, but it is important to give an impression of possessing them. This will lead our interlocutors (in Kjøller's terms our *opponents*) to believe that we do possess them, and therefore we can employ them as tools in our manipulation of others. Linguistic manipulation is exercised through certain principles, such as the *Achilles Principle* and the *Queen Margrethe Principle* (see below).

Acquisition

Adult bilinguals undoubtedly have and employ code switching skills of both kinds. Romaine says that "bilingual children learn at a very early age to use code-switching to serve these discourse functions" meaning "a more saliently and prominently marked 'changing of hats' which all speakers engage in all of the time" (1989,157). We know only little, however, about children's development of skills in "negotiating rights and obligations", including bilingual children's development of code switching skills for other purposes than "changing hats", and including minority children's dealing with the status differences between their languages. In the Western industrialized world it is part of the general responsibility of the public school systems to enable the students to take part in democratic societal activities, to achieve their personal goals etc., i.e. it is crucial that children develop "negotiating skills". Since code switching, subject to normative frameworks or not, is hardly part of the subject matter in many school curricula, we have to study children's "natural" acquisition of code switching, for example in the school.

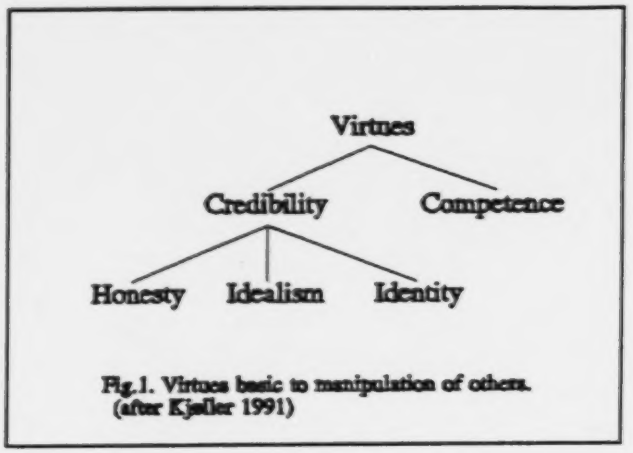

Fig.1. Virtues basic to manipulation of others. (after Kjøller 1991)

In a pilot study we found three stages in the development of code switching in group conversations among immigrant children aged 7-13 (Jørgensen et al 1991). At the youngest stage, the children were more or less dominant in the minority tongue, using Danish only to address Danes, and therefore there was little code switching of any kind in their conversations. At the next stage, the children had acquired Danish enough to do their school tasks in Danish, including tasks that we asked them to do in their group work. They would, however, conduct the unofficial talk which always appears in group conversations, in Turkish, and specifically they would perform their attempts to control each others by means of language, in Turkish. At this stage they realized the difference in status between the two languages, and that Danish is the primary language of the school. Their code switching was mainly "situational" or "unmarked", because they would use Danish for the purposes it was "meant" for, and Turkish for the purposes it was "meant" for by the "normative framework". The children were quite dogmatic in administering their languages with repeated utterances like "remember we have to speak Danish". At yet a later stage the students performed a wide range of code switches for specific, conversational purposes. The following example is an extract from a group conversation between three Turkish girls (age 12-13) in a Danish grade school (the Danish parts are underlined, translations in brackets):

S1: be Nevin konuşma istiyom eh jeg havde ikke nogen det der şeyim yoğdu fan- ja fantasi ah energi çok oynadım.
(eh Nevin, I wanna say something too, I didn't have any of that there fan- yes fantasy ah energy, I danced a lot.)

N1: du har sgu da energi når du, du har sgu da energi når du eh Sevinç det hedder alts- det hedder altså ikke energi, onun adı başka bir şeydi energi yaşayanlara.
(you do bloody well have energy when you, you do bloody well have energy when you eh Sevinç, it is called- , it is not called energy, energy is about living things.)

S2: prateinim yok işte.
(I didn't have any protein.)

N2: neyin yok.
(of what did you not have any?)

S3: protein.
(protein)

N3: o ne la, bilmediği bir şey söyledi.
(what is this, she does not know what she is talking about.)

S4: åh du ved da heller ikke noget Nevin.
(you don't know anything either, Nevin.)

N4: du ved det heller ikke.
(you don't know either.)

S5: du ved det heller ikke.
(you don't know either.)

N5: nej jeg ved det ikke jeg siger det ... du siger bare <xxx.>
(no, I don't know, I say so ... you just say xxx=unintelligible.)

S6: energi öğretmenim dedi ya, energi bitiyor diye.
(the teacher has told us that the energy can run out.)

N6: jaja.(yeah-yeah.)

S7: öğretmenim dedi ya çok <hoplayınca> energiniz bitiyor diye.
(the teacher said, if you jump a lot your energy runs out.)

N7: jeg har forstået det vi skal altså ikke snakke, er det derfor du er kommet ud her.
(I have understood, we are not going to talk, is that why you've come out here?)

S8: ja.
(yes.)

N8: nå det kan man godt høre på dig.
(well that's easy to tell.)

S9: eyi bir daha senle konuşmoyom Nevin.
(hey I am not gonna talk with you any more, Nevin.)

N9: konusma.
(then don't talk.)

These girls clearly use the code switch as a tool in their mutual fight about "rights and obligations" and about control of the situation, most notably as a means to avoid short-term humiliation and defeat. In line S1, the girl S makes a statement. Although she is in fact right, her opponent N strongly claims she is not. S becomes uncertain and changes her statement in S2. Her opponent pursues her own success in N2, further weakening S - who then in S3 switches into Danish. N rams it home in N3, still in Turkish, while S upholds her switch to Danish. Having scored her point, N graciously accepts the switch to Danish in N4. After a few turns of childish quarreling in Danish, N deals another blow in N5, and S once again switches, but this time back into Turkish. She does this with the argument of all arguments: their teacher says so. This is so strong that this time N does not accept the switch, but continues to speak Danish in N6. S sensing that she is onto something here, then repeats herself almost verbatim, and N still continues in Danish. Having sensed her triumph, S then in S8

accepts to go back into Danish, only to fall into a trap: in N8 another blow is dealt by N. Consequently S switches once again in S9. Having scored another point, S follows her into Turkish for the first time since N3.

The girls' code switching is obviously "metaphorical" and highly "marked". In fact, their switches back and forth between the languages are so smooth and effortless that we can consider the girls to be quite advanced code switchers. Something has clearly happened between stage two and this one. One thing is that the children's awareness level of bilingualism has been raised. And they realize that they can choose between the languages. We do not hear as many "we must speak Danish now", rather we hear "I want us to speak Danish (or Turkish)". Further the children have developed a range of means of linguistic power wielding. The code switch is one of these tools. Note that the examples we have just seen do not rely on a distinction between a "we" code and a "they" code. Several details are said in both languages, with different values each time. And the shift itself is a signal, regardless of direction.

In short we expected the following development:

Stage 1: Few switches, few signs of awareness. L_2 used only to monolinguals and for a few loans.

Stage 2: "Globally" determined switching, with some switches and awareness of norm. L_1 used for power wielding.

Stage 3: "Locally" determined switching, rapid and frequent switching, awareness of choice. Switching used as a power tool.

The Study

One of our aims is to study how children develop conversational skills, and what skills they develop. In the following we shall take a closer look at the power tools mentioned, and look at code switching in this particular light. The material consists of conversations between 3 or 4 children, being alone in a classroom and doing a school-like task. They were audio-recorded on an 8-track mixing board which enabled us to isolate the contributions of each child and thus produce a quite exact transcription of the conversation. The conversations lasted 30-45 minutes each, and they were transcribed in the Chat format (MacWhinney 1991). Subsequently the transcripts were analyzed and scored, and computed by use of the Clan package (ib.).

The analysis for the present purpose was three-fold.

1) One way of describing the execution of power relations in conversation is Linell and Gustavsson's initiative-response paradigm. The method was originally designed for two-person conversations, and it does present some problems to use it on group conversations. For instance, quite often an initiative, even a strong one, does not receive any response at all. Sometimes the addressee of an utterance is not clear, in some cases it is not clear whether there is an addressee at all. Linell has suggested a series of adjustments to the categories to acccount for the specifics of groups conversation (Linell 1989). We have, however, used a simplified classification system of initiatives and responses ranging from a strong initiative over a response plus further initiative to a weak response, and reintroduction of a previous initiative. To supplement these scores with the reception of the utterances, they are also classified according to the reaction they receive (+ for utterances which

receive a response, - for utterances which do not, and 0 for utterances which are not intended for response or impossible to respond to).

2) To distinguish between some of the concepts expected to influence language choice, we use a framework of "focus orientation", i.e. the apparent effect that a particular utterance seems to aim at or promote. In some cases an utterance seems to point at, or focus on, the task presented to the children by us, e.g. problem solution: "what can we do with this?" These are scored as O. In other cases the utterance seems to point at other matters, e.g. information about non-task-related content, and smalltalk: "are you going to the club today?" These are scored as A. In both these cases the focus is content-oriented, but often the utterance seems to focus on the social relations between the children more than content, e.g. in fights for the floor: "I wanna say something too, you know". These are scored as H. In yet other cases the utterance points towards the medium, as in verbal play: "Osman Osman Ostemad (Cheese sandwich)". These utterances are scored as P. Finally there are utterances which comment on the situation in a relatively wide physical sense, i.e. the furniture, the fact that I am outside the door, the scissors, paste etc used for the task. These are scored as S. It goes without saying that there is a good deal of interpretation in these distinctions, and there are numerous problems with the categories (see Laursen forthc). Furthermore, we assume that the older the children grow, the more complex their focus orientation will become. In this connection the utterances that are of major interest are the ones with focus on the social relations between the interlocutors. This is where the verbal power struggle is open and direct.

3) Use of strategies in Kjøller's linguistic power wielding terms were registered. It is beyond the scope of this paper to describe in detail the principles, but at least the following salient types are of importance:

The Achilles principle: Your strength sits in your opponent's weaknesses. This means that if your interlocutor is weak on e.g. competence (say, command of the Danish language), use this to achieve your goal (for instance, use Danish enough to keep your opponent uncertain exactly what is going on).

Another example is *The Queen Margrethe Principle*: Never hesitate to hail the values you share with your opponent. This means that you can keep your opponent in the dark about the fact that you consider him or her an opponent. It is also a means to escape to neutral territory (subjectwise) when you are in trouble.

Further principles are: *The Me-or-You Principle*: Every power vacuum which you do not fill will be filled by your opponent. Every decision you do not make will be made by your opponent. *The Hospital Principle*: People who hope you can help them are easier to deal with than people who do not have such hopes. *The Winner's Principle*: Always make what (necessarily) happens look like a victory for you. *The Love Principle*: The more your opponent likes you, the weaker she is. Always make your opponent love you as much as possible.

The Data.

In the following we will look at some preliminary results for a small number of children who have participated in all four years of the project. The data presented here are taken from several different groups involving more children than the ones described here, although in most cases 2-4 of them were together. Figure 2 shows the percentage of utterances made in Danish by Erol and Esen in group conversations with Turkish children ("Turk"

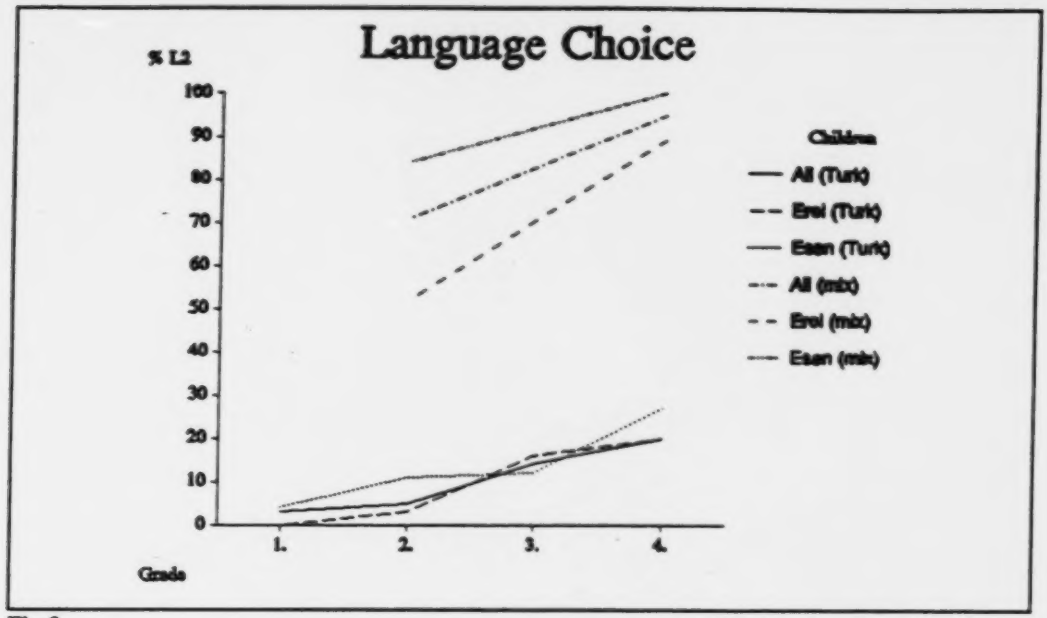
Language Choice
% L2
100
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
1.
2.
3.
4.
Grade
Children
All (Turk)
Erel (Turk)
Esen (Turk)
All (mix)
Erel (mix)
Esen (mix)

Fig.2

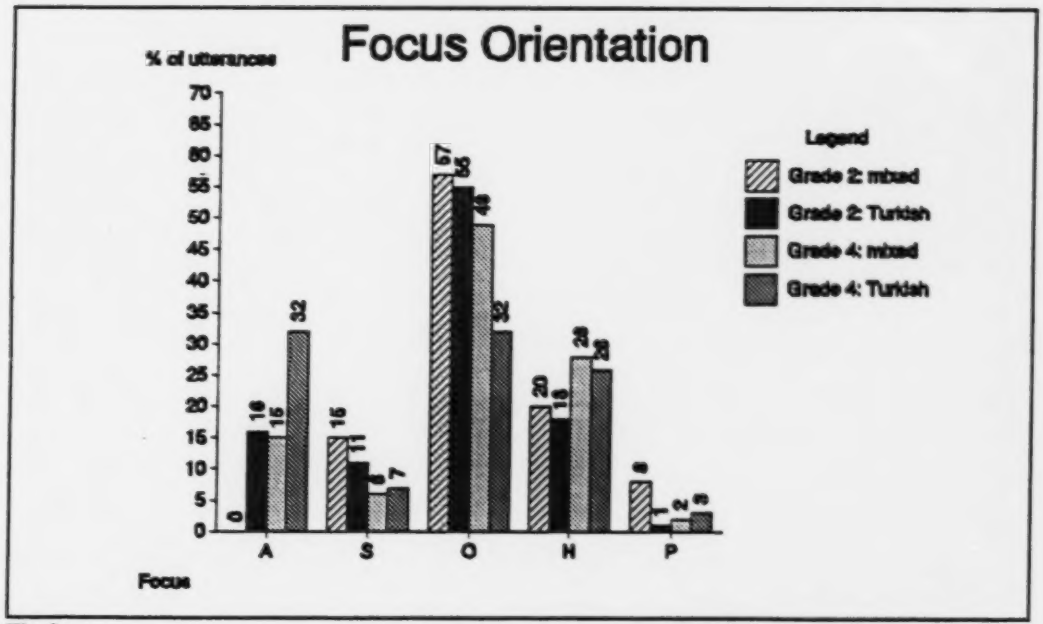
Focus Orientation
% of utterances
70
65
60
55
50
45
40
35
30
25
20
15
10
5
0
0
16
15
32
16
11
6
7
57
55
48
32
20
18
28
26
8
1
2
3
A
S
O
H
P
Focus
Legend
Grade 2: mixed
Grade 2: Turkish
Grade 4: mixed
Grade 4: Turkish

Fig.3

in the figure) and in mixed group conversations ("mix" in the figure). As it appears, Danish is very rare in all-Turkish surroundings for the first couple of years, with Esen generally using more Danish than Erol. In grade 2 the Turkish children even use quite a bit of L_1 when Danish children are present, but in grade 4 there is only little Turkish left. The tendency is thus for Danish to play an increasingly important part of the children's conversations, and consequently their opportunities to use code switching as a communicative instrument become more frequent.

Figure 3 shows the distribution, on the five focus orientation categories set up, of the children's utterances in the group conversations. In the figure we can see that the main difference between the Turkish groups and the mixed groups is that there is much more orientation towards "A" (content different from the task given the kids by the researchers) in the Turkish groups, both in grade 2 and in grade 4. This could mean several things. First it could mean that the Turkish children master their L_1 with confidence enough to talk about other matters than what they think they are supposed to, before they acquire a similar confidence with Danish. Secondly it is possible that the Turkish children share a wider non-school-related frame of reference among themselves than they share with their Danish peers, and therefore the Turks have more non-school business to talk about with other Turks than they have with Danes. It is also clear that with growing age the tendency to talk about other matters than the task grows. The social orientation (category "H") also becomes slightly stronger, both in the Turkish and the mixed groups.

A further indication of the growing sophistication of the children's language use can be seen in figure 4, which shows the percentage of initatives and strong responses (i.e. responses that carry a further initiative) in all utterances by the children in the group conversatios. We see the percentage of new initatives decreasing over the years, and the percentage of responses which also include an initiative increasing. This means that in grade 1 the children are active conversants, but their activity is to a certain extent limited to introducing new topics or perspectives without notice of what was just said. In grade 4 they are still active, but now they are more likely to tie their

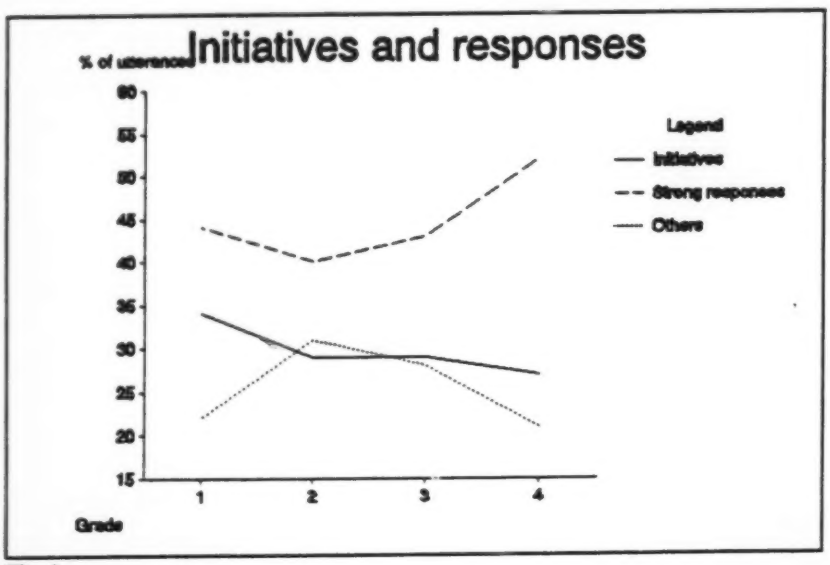

Fig.4

contributions to that of the former speaker. Thus the conversation becomes more cohesive - it flows more adult-like.

In conclusion, figure 2-4 indicate the growing complexity and refinement of the children's language use. They acquire Danish enough to participate almost monolingually in conversations with monolingual Danes, and they develop a bilingual competence which enables them to use both of the languages with other bilinguals. They further come to master Language as such to the extent where they can deal with several types of focus within the same conversation in a still more complex manner, although this far primarily in the bilingual groups (which may be an indication of the advantage of being able to "train" one's language use in bilingual surroundings when one is bilingual). This underlines how the children come to deal with the dynamics of the speech situation: the individual, characterized by a certain set of qualifications, is involved in achieving certain goals, with specific interlocutors in surroundings characterized by a number of conditions on what can be achieved and how. These conditions are more favorable for bilinguals when they can use both of their languages.

Figure 5 shows the reception of the initatives by each of four children in bilingual groups. The line marked "Erol+" indicates that in grade 1 about 20 % of Erol's initiatives are taken up by one (or more) of the others. The figure for grades 2-4 is slightly lower than 50 %. As can be seen, all the others receive more reactions to their initiatives, and especially Esen becomes stronger in this sense, getting about 45 % reactions in grade 1 andabout 80 % in grade 4. The fact that the figure goes up for all the children is one more indication that the children develop their skills in coherent conversation, but at the same time Erol is becoming somewhat marginalized. The figures for the initiatives which do not receive any response underline this finding: from grade

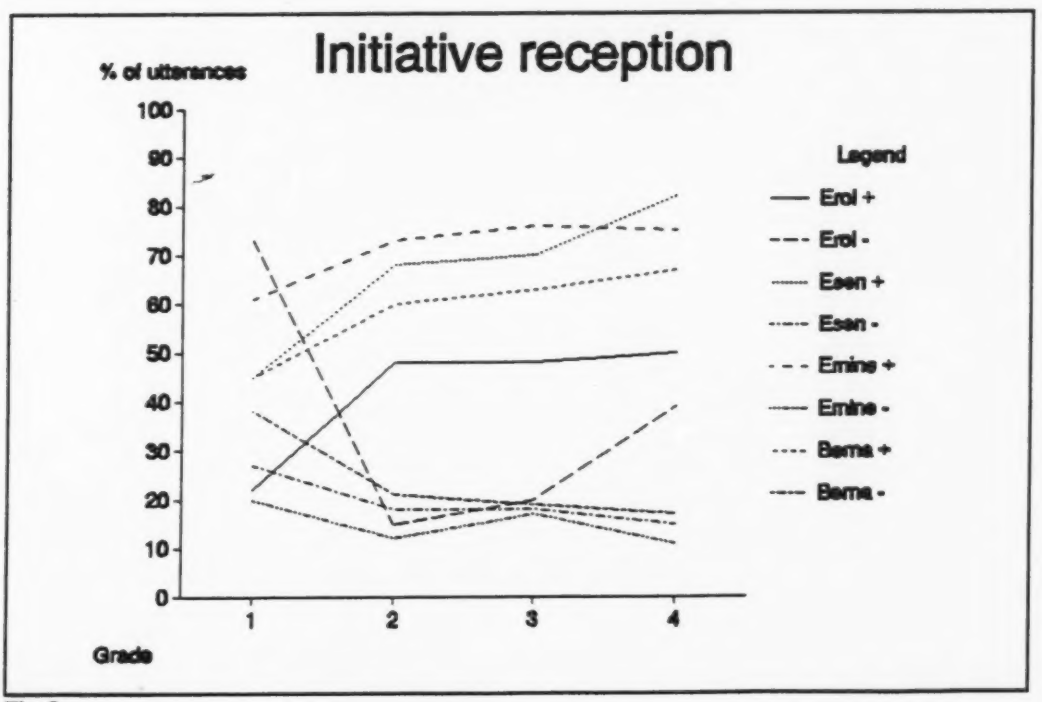

Fig.5

1 to grade 4 there is a fall except for Erol who is being left out in grade 4 If this picture holds, it seems that during the first year of schooling the children achieve a social sense of each other's linguistic contributions (cf. the clear fall in non-received initiatives between grade 1 and grade 2) which includes all children, and not until a couple of years later does a difference in status show up in the systematic marginalization of (in this case) one.

Another crude measure of the difference in conversational power is the number of times one is addressed. Figure 6 shows the number of times each of the four children's names are mentioned during the group conversations. The number of times a name is mentioned is, however, not the same as the number of times this person is addressed. And one may also be addressed for reproach. Therefore this measure is only a rough indication of power status. But again it is obvious that Erol is a less central person than the others, especially because several of the 18 times his name is mentioned in the grade 4 conversation are exclamations and corrections.

Child	Grade 1	Grade 2	Grade 3	Grade 4
Esen	19	21	18	11
Erol	0	0	0	18
Emine	129	31	62	0
Berna	16	14	11	6

Figure 6. Name mention (addressing, mentioning, verbal play etc of four children in each of the four grades)

The data seem to show us one child, Esen, who develops a certain linguistic strength which she exercises in both languages, and another child, Erol, who contributes eagerly to the conversations, but is more or less ignored by the others. This leads us to the question of code switching. In the following we shall look at examples of how children use code switching in their jockeying for control of the conversation.

An example from *grade 1*:

Berna: çok pis Emine çok pis o konu xxx bize okulları anlattı.
(Emine is very stupid very stupid she say- xxx=unintelligible what she told us about the schools)
Emine: Berna er spastiker hun gør.
(Berna is a spastic, she does)
Berna: Emine er syg.
(Emine is sick)
Emine: Gülay er spastiker hun kan ikke snakke dansk hun er hun er spasser dum hun er svin.
(Gülay is spastic she can't speak Danish she is spastic she is swine)
Gülay: Emine er stor ay Emine bir şey Emine dum og svin.
(Emine is big eh Emine is something stupid and swine)
Berna: Emine ben bunu aldım vıy vıy vıy vay ay.
(Emine I took this + nonsense)

In this excerpt of an almost exclusively Turkish conversation Berna teases Emine who responds with a non-native Danish derogatory expression. Eventually the insults are aimed at Gülay who is the weaker part of this group. Gülay attempts in her turn to pay back, but fails and returns to a Turkish void filler. The children are not really describing each others as spastics or sick persons, but involved in playful name-calling, using perceived negative Danish terms. They are playing with the Danish words which in this context are only empty negatives. Their command of Danish is nevertheless a power tool because the child who can not contribute her part to the more or less playful building up of insults is the loser. This example also illustrates that in children's development of linguistic power wielding, as in other kinds of development, their play with words precedes the real thing.

Another example from *grade 1*:

Berna: ay ben varya mutfak odasını aldım bak mukkakı aldım şurdan da odaya salona cıkılıyor.
(oh I took the kitchen room, look I took the kitchen, and from here one can get into the living room)
Hüriye: kom lige jeg har ikke nok saks.
(come here I don't have enough scissor)
Gülay: oh.
Emine: mutkak değil mut, mutfak.
(it isn't mutkak, it's mutfak)

This is an example of addressee related code switching, i.e. a globally determined switch, but not only this. Hüriye's utterance in Danish is directed to me, an adult Dane, who can not, however, hear the call, and therefore does not react. Most likely I was not expected to, either. There are several examples of children pretending to call the adult Dane, as a potential threat against the stronger part of the conversation. The threat lies in the fact that in the presence of an adult Dane, the kids' internal relations will be altered. The very use of Danish, no matter how pretended the content is, therefore lends power to the speaker as compared to Turkish. Note also how the children seem to be carrying on a less than coherent conversation, if not several simultaneous conversations.

An example from a mixed group in *grade 2*:

(1) Dane1: Esen skal vi ikke have sådan en lille hund med på ferie.
(Esen let's take such a nice little dog along on vacation)
(2) Esen: åh.
(oh)
(3) Dane2: så klip så klip den ud.
(then cut it cut it out)
(4) Dane1: hej søde lille hund.
(hello sweet little doggie)
(5) Erol: hvad skal jeg så si- skal også bruge saks.
(what shall I then- I also need a scissor)
(6) Esen: jamen han må jo gerne få det.
(yes but he can have it)
(7) Erol: daha kesmiyor, gel bunları gecelim bunları gecelim.
(he doesn't cut any more; come let us do it faster than them, let's pass them)
(8) Dane1: skal jeg klippe det her ud skal jeg klippe det ud Esen
(must I cut this , must I cut this Esen)
(9) Esen: hvis den altså må komme over og rense den.

(if it can also cross over and clean it)

(10) Dane1: jeg tror jeg godt du må. søde lille hund.
(I think that's okay. sweet little dog)

(11) Dane2: åh hvor den søde hund skal han skal han
(oh where is the sweet doggie, is he, is he)

(12) Erol: jeg fundet den xxx.
(I found it xxx=unintelligible)

(13) Esen: beklicen bizi Erol
(wait for us, Erol)

(14) Dane1: puddelhunden må gerne komme med over.
(the poodle can come over here)

(15) Erol: saks.
(scissor)

(16) Dane2: han skal også have skjorter med.
(he must also take a shirt along)

(17) Esen: bekle sende Hüriye gibi olma.
(wait, don't be like Hüriye)

(18) Dane1: han skal også have skjorter med og *Dane2* skal også
(he must also take his shirts along, and Dane2 must also

(19) Erol: Hüriye gibi değilim.
(I'm not like Hüriye)

(20) Esen: I skal klippe deres øh hoved af fordi de skal jo ikke
(you must cut off their eh heads, they're not supposed)

(21) Erol: Esen bak ayakkabılarımı.
(Esen look at my shoes)

(22) Dane1: nåh ja de skal også have hoved med på ferie.
(yeah they're gonna have their heads along on vacation)

(23) Erol: ja.
(yes)

(24) Esen: nej hovedet skal klippes af også.
(no the head must be cut off too)

(25) Erol: çocuğa yada kıza.
(for the kid or for the girl)

(26) Dane2: jeg mener sådan nogle skjorter som der er pakket.
(I mean shirts that have been wrapped)

(27) Esen: åh ne yapıyorsun sen.
(oh what are you doing)

(28) Dane2: nej hvor er det svært.
(oh it's difficult)

This example shows us two simultaneous conversations, both of which have Esen as the central participant. In line 7 Erol suggests the two of them join forces against the Danes, in order to be faster with the task. He uses Turkish to exclude the two Danes with whom he seems uncertain and insecure. In Gumperz' terms he clearly uses Turkish as the "we" code. In Kjøller's terms he behaves like a security addict. Esen continues the conversation with him, including reprimands (line 17), in Turkish. She is clearly the leading one, as Erol addresses her, even appeals to her (line 21), not vice versa, and she reprimands him. Likewise the Danes address Esen and ask for her accept (line 1). Esen carries on this conversation, too, but in Danish (lines 9, 20, 24). Thus she plays both of her linguistic hands, keeping the two conversations apart, thereby avoiding conspiracy and rebellion, *divide et impera*. She controls Erol by accepting his choice of language, and then attacking him on his identity ("don't be like Hüriye"), an attack that might cause a sympathetic reaction from the others, had they

been able to understand it. She controls the Danes by directing them (line 20) and correcting them (line 24). So her language choice may be addressee related, but it is also determined by her short range communicative intent: to control the situation.

The following example from a Turkish group in *grade 2* shows us that not all the children have developed their code switching patterns quite as much as Esen:

Hüriye: min arm min arm.
(my arm my arm)
Asiye: min lillefinger.
(my little finger)
Hüriye: sen karışma be.
(don't interfere)

Asiye mocks Hüriye by interfering, ridiculing her voice, in effect attacking her identity. Hüriye immediately drops out of her act and tells Asiye not to interfere with it, i.e. she reinforces her competence ("I can do this"), but loses on identity ("yeah, maybe I was overacting a bit"). Her attempt to control Asiye is much cruder than what we have just seen Esen do. Hüriye does this in Turkish which would be in line with our expectations, since her official contribution is in Danish, and her contribution focused on the social relations among the interlocutors is in Turkish. There are indications of such division of labor, but they are much weaker than expected.

In *grade 3* we see Erol in the company of Turkish boys:

Erol1: hıhı Normalın orda makinası var manyak.
(hehe Normann has a machine there, the fool)
Ümit1: mm şöyle bir gemi kessem mi.
(hm wonder if I should cut out such a ship)
Davut1: kom lige Normal Normal kom lige Norm Normal kom lige.
(please come, Normann)
Erol2: gemi kesilir mi manyak.
(you can't cut out a ship, you fool)
Ümit2: Normal kom lige.
(please come, Normann)
Erol3: du skal ikke komme Normal han løgner.
(don't come in, Normann, he liers)
Davut2: ha løgner.
(ha, he liers)
Ümit3: løgner løgner.
(liers, liers)
Erol4: oh løgner [yalan-].
(oh liers [untrue?])
Davut3: bunu kim istiyorsa alsın.
(he who wants this can take it)
Ümit4: lyver lyver.
(lies lies)
Erol5: lyver løgner da denilir lyver da denilir.
(lies liar can both be used lies can also be used)
Ümit5: lyver da denilir løgner da den.
(one can both say lies and liar)
Davut4: oh gidiyor.
(oh it runs)

This discussion concerns the verbal form *løgner which is impossible in native Danish (løgner is the nomen agentis, a liar). In an attempt to break a deadlock in the conversation Davut, a comparatively weak boy, resorts to the frequently used means of (pretending to be) calling the adult. Erol who is much more in control of this situation than he ever is when Esen is present is not the one to prise such a suggestion, so he swiftly moves to persuade the adult not to come. He wants to say "Davut lies" (which is a very good indication that he has understood why Davut wants the power relations to be altered), but it comes out something like "Davut liers". Hereby he opens himself to an attack on his competence, and it follows immediately (line Davut2), a severe attack since the struggle has now moved into Danish. Erol explains what he thinks "løgner" means (line Erol4), and apparently does it convincingly enough for Davut to give up this point and return to the task, and into Turkish (line Davut3). Erol, to convince also Ümit, repeats his point, and after him Ümit repeats it, and Davut finally crunches in (line Davut4). Erol simply uses his superior load of competence (remember: apparent competence) to crash the opposition. It does not really matter at this point who is right, what matters is who appears to be right. And he appears to be right who has in the past most often appeared to be right. One can also appear to be right quite often if one salutes one's own victories loudly - which is what Erol does here by making Ümit repeat. So in spite of the fact that the code switch proves dangerous for Erol he manages to maintain his grip of the situation by moving one step up in linguistic awareness and talk *about* forms of one language *in* the other language.

The following excerpt is from a group of Turkish children in *grade 4*:

Berna:	siz yapacak mısınız. (are you gonna do that)
Esen:	så skrid hvis du ikke vil lave vi gider sgu ikke at have dig hvis du snakker. (then buzz off if you don't want it, we bloody don't want you here if you keep talking)
Berna:	bæbæbæ. (boo, boo, boo)
Erol:	det er rigtigt nok. (it's true)
Emine:	skal vi snakke altid dansk hvad. (must we always speak Danish)
Erol:	nej. (no)
Esen:	nej men vi skal heller ikke snakke vi skal bare lave. (no we're not going to talk, we're going to act)
Emine:	jeg snakker altid tyrkisk så. (in that case I'm gonna speak Turkish)
Erol:	kırt kırt kırt cart curt curt cart. (nonsense words, Turkish sounds)
Esen:	seni dinledim Emine ben kitap şeyde bantta. (I heard you Emine, a book, on that tape)

Berna in the first line asks a bit critically of Esen whether she is (really) going to do some unidentifiable part of the task. She asks in Turkish. Esen is obviously annoyed by this question, she seems to take it as an insult, probably an attack on her position which allows her (at least in her mind) to choose what to do and how. So she reprimands with a very strong (colloquial, but not tabooed) expression in Danish. Berna, unable to meet this

level of sharpness, resorts to meaningless sounds. Erol hastens to back Esen, in Danish, sensing which way the wind is blowing. Emine then throws in a diversifier: she asks - in Danish - if it is really necessary to speak Danish. Erol joins her, and this is enough for Esen to sense the danger. She *also* says it is not necessary to speak Danish, but with the qualifying statement that it is not necessary to talk at all. She here employs Kjøller's *The Winner's Principle*, she accepts what must happen, but makes it look like her victory. Emine follows up her success by stating, in Danish again, that from now on she will speak Turkish. Esen again interferes, and by quickly switching into Turkish with a flattering remark addressed to Emine, she keeps control. The last code switch was deliberately forced by Emine - who thereby marks that although she may not be as strong as Esen, and although she may not be able to shove around the others the way Esen does, she is not one to be shoved around herself. If she just wanted to speak Turkish, she could have done so, there are plenty of examples of that. But she wants to have a *decision* that Turkish will be spoken, and that is a different matter. She chooses a time when Esen has just alienated Berna, and in the process probably frightened Erol who is a security addict. Thus Emine employs the Love Principle. To save her face Esen has to follow Emine's proposal, thereby weakening her own position slightly. Once again we see the linguistic awareness, in this case awareness of language choice, as an important battle field for power wielding.

The final example is from a mixed group in *grade 4*:

Erol: du er sgu da jeg vil klippe fra folkeskolen af der er ikke nogen indianere bunları okula asamaz mıyız kız.
(you are bloody I wanna cut our from "Folkeskolen" there are no red indians, can't we hang them on the wall, kid)

Esen: lad nu være med at snakke og klip.
(stop talking and cut out)

Erol: hold kæft dur bak Esen şunu şeye yapamaz mıyız.
(shut up wait look Esen can't we make this one into that)

Esen: snak dansk.
(speak Danish)

Erol: bunu okula yapamaz mıyız.
(can't we make that for the school)

Esen: må jeg se.
(let me see)

Erol: okula sığarsa.
(if it can be in the school)

Esen: nej.
(no)

Dane2: der er jo ikke noget med en sko jo her der er en klasse.
(there is nothing with a shoe, here is a classroom)

Esen: der er ikke er det ikke klasseværelse hvad.
(there isn't is that not a classroom, isn't it)

As in the excerpt from the grade 2 group we see Erol trying to involve Esen in a discussion in Turkish. He is in fact a bit aggressive, using a Danish phrase for "shut up". Esen, however, responds solely in Danish. His uncharacteristically aggressive behavior may cause her to involve the others in controlling him. Later in the conversation she succeeds, by the way. In figure 6 we see his name is mentioned more than in other conversations, but this is partly due to the fact that he is reprimanded quite often. What this bit here shows is

that he is the security addict turning fanatic (in Kjøller's universe a likely development), and that she maintains control over him through her choice of language. When we consider what se have seen from her side until now, we find that this is not something she does just because she knows one language a bit better than the other one, or a bit better than him. It is - at least also - something she does to maintain her position. It is an advanced linguistic power play.

Premature, unsubstantiated conclusion

These data seem not to confirm the expected line of development (see above). We expected the code switching to appear later than it actually does, and we expected the children to be more uniform in their development than they are. The following steps seem to be a closer description of the development of the children who have provided these data:

Stage 1: Code switching used as a power tool appears as word play (and pretended addressee specification)

Stage 2: Differentiation between the children; in real power struggles the leader divides and conquers; opposition is marked by code switches by the more advanced children; switching to "we" code by weaker children

Stage 3: Further differentiation between the children; a wide range of strategies employed by the more advanced children

Stage 4: Relationship between "we" code and "they" code becomes complicated.

It goes without saying that much work remains to be done, first of all with the theoretical development of a framework of concepts for children's mutual manipulation. It may prove to be fruitful to compare this approach with a study of the development of face saving moves. Further we need to look at the results of the study of the linguistic development (in the narrow sense) of the children, and much more. It does seem, however, that even successively bilingual children acquire code switching skills for purposes of social control, and they do so at a younger age than expected.

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